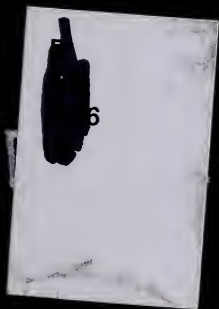


Josiah William Bailey

LATE A SENATOR FROM
NORTH CAROLINA



MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
DELIVERED IN CONGRESS



UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES

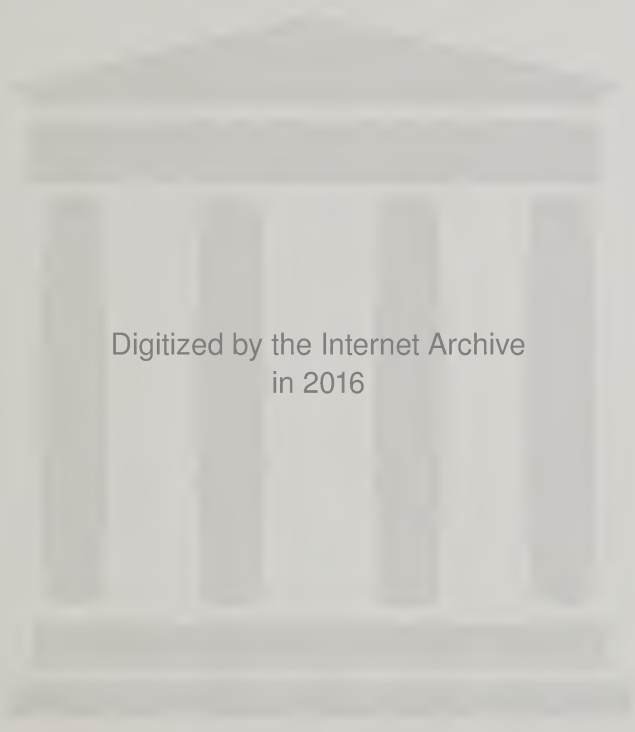


47113153

U.S. 49-46830v



FLARE



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016



Memorial Services

HELD IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER
WITH REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Josiah William Bailey

LATE A SENATOR FROM
NORTH CAROLINA



Eightieth Congress
First Session



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1949

B

B 154 m

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

Contents

	Page
Biography-----	5
Memorial services in the House:	
Memorial service program-----	11
Prayer by the Chaplain, Dr. Montgomery-----	13
Roll of deceased Members, read by Mr. Alney E. Chaffee, reading clerk of the House-----	15
Address by Mr. Frank B. Keefe, of Wisconsin-----	17
Address by Mr. Michael J. Mansfield, of Montana-----	21
Benediction by the Chaplain-----	27
Memorial exercises in the Senate:	
Invocation and Scripture reading by Rev. Bernard Bras- kamp-----	31
Roll of deceased Members, read by the Chief Clerk-----	34
Tribute by Mr. C. Wayland Brooks, of Illinois-----	36
Tribute by Mr. Clyde R. Hoey, of North Carolina-----	39
Memorial addresses:	
Mr. Harry Flood Byrd, of Virginia-----	49
Mr. Clyde R. Hoey, of North Carolina-----	53
Mr. Millard E. Tydings, of Maryland-----	64
Mr. William B. Umstead, of North Carolina-----	66
Proceedings in the Senate-----	80
Proceedings in the House-----	85

Biography

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY was born in Warrenton, Warren County, N. C., September 14, 1873; moved with his parents to Raleigh, N. C., in 1877; attended the public schools and Raleigh (N. C.) Male Academy; was graduated from Wake Forest (N. C.) College in 1893; editor of the Biblical Recorder, 1893-1907; member of the State board of agriculture, 1896-1900; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1908, and commenced practice in Raleigh, N. C.; presidential elector in 1908 on the ticket of Bryan and Kern; United States collector of internal revenue for North Carolina 1913-21; member of the North Carolina Constitutional Commission in 1915; trustee of the University of North Carolina, 1930; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1930; reelected in 1936 and 1942 and served from March 4, 1931, until his death in Raleigh, N. C., on December 15, 1946; interment in Oakwood Cemetery.

In the House of Representatives

MONDAY, April 14, 1947.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Resolution 179.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That on Monday, the 19th day of May 1947, immediately after the approval of the Journal, the House shall stand at recess for the purpose of holding the memorial services as arranged by the Committee on House Administration under the provisions of clause (1) (j) (2) (C) of rule XI of the rules of the House of Representatives. The order of exercises and proceedings of the service shall be printed in the Congressional Record, and all Members shall have leave for sixty legislative days to extend their remarks in the Congressional Record on the life, character, and public service of deceased Members. At the conclusion of the proceedings the Speaker shall call the House to order, and then, as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased, he shall declare the House adjourned.

* * * * *

The resolution was agreed to.

Memorial Services
in the
House of Representatives

Eightieth Congress
First Session

Memorial Service Program

Prelude, sacred selections (11:30 to 12)

United States Marine Corps Orchestra

Presiding officer.....The Speaker, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

Invocation.....The Chaplain, Dr. James Shera Montgomery

Solo: There Is No Death (O'Hara).....Hon. Harve Tibbott
Representative from the State of Pennsylvania

At the piano.....Musician Irving Filler

Scripture reading and prayer.....The Chaplain

Roll of deceased Members

The Clerk of the House of Representatives

Devotional silence.

Address.....Hon. Frank B. Keefe
Representative from the State of Wisconsin

Solo: Beautiful Isle of Somewhere (Ferris).....Hon. Harve Tibbott
At the piano.....Musician Irving Filler

Address.....Hon. Michael J. Mansfield
Representative from the State of Montana

Taps.....Musician Robert De Hart

Benediction.....The Chaplain

Josiah William Bailey



Memorial Services

MONDAY, *May 19, 1947.*

The **SPEAKER** of the House of Representatives (**Mr. MARTIN**) presided.

The Chaplain, **Dr. Montgomery**:

O Divine Redeemer, we wait in the eternal ways. As the earthly door closes and the heavenly door opens, fix our faith upon the hills, from whence cometh our strength. Our strength cometh from the Lord. With the light of Thy sovereign wisdom, look through our limitations and command our understanding, and keep us in the way everlasting.

Merciful God, the sands of life run swiftly; we know not when the silver cord will be loosed, the golden bowl be broken, but so long as faith and hope and love shall live, so long is the immortality of the soul assured. Be this the comfort and the hope of the sorrowing ones of our deceased Members, in whose memory we have gathered. May they go forward with patience and fortitude, and at the last, as our earthly eyes close, do Thou bear us up the stairway, through the darkness, to the Father's house, to the Father's love, and we shall go out no more forever. In the name of Jesus our Saviour. Amen.

Hon. **HARVE TIBBOTT**, accompanied by Musician **Irving Filler**, sang *There Is No Death*.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

The CHAPLAIN:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?

CHAPLAIN'S PRAYER

Serene I fold my hands and wait,
Nor care for wind, nor tide, nor sea;
I rave no more 'gainst time nor fate,
For lo! my own shall come to me.

I stay my haste, I make delays;
For what avails this eager pace?
I stand amid the eternal ways,
For what is mine shall know my face,

Asleep, awake, by night or day,
The friends I seek are seeking me;
No wind can drive my bark astray,
Nor change the tide of destiny.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

What matter if I stand alone?
I wait with joy the coming years;
My heart shall reap where it has sown
And gather up its fruit of tears.

The stars come nightly to the sky,
The tidal wave unto the sea;
Nor time, nor space, nor deep, nor high,
Can keep my own away from me.

He leads me in no darker room
Than he himself went through
And in our path is laid no stone
He would not carry too.

Blessed be His holy name.

*Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.
Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is in
heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us
our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.
For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for-
ever.*

Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

Mr. Alney E. Chaffee, reading clerk of the House of Representatives, read the following roll:

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia: Born January 4, 1858; printer; reporter; editor; publisher; student of private and public schools; member, board of visitors, University of Virginia, 1898-1906; member State senate, 1899-1903; delegate, State constitutional convention, 1901; Member, House of Representatives, Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fifth Congresses; Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; declined reappointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Member of the United States Senate, under appointment and election from February 2, 1920; died May 28, 1946.

JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d, a Senator from the State of Alabama: Born July 8, 1872; lawyer; graduate, University of Alabama, 1891, and Georgetown University, 1893; president, Bankhead Coal Co., 1911-25; major, Alabama National Guard, 1901-3; member, State house of representatives, 1904-5; trustee, University of Ala-

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

bama, 1917-19 and 1931-46; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died June 12, 1946.

CHARLES OSCAR ANDREWS, a Senator from the State of Florida: Born March 7, 1877; soldier; lawyer; judge; attended South Florida Military Institute; graduate, State normal school, 1901, and University of Florida, 1907; captain, National Guard, Spanish-American War; secretary, State senate, 1905-7, and 1909-11; judge of the Criminal Court of Record, Walton County, 1910-11; assistant attorney general, 1912-19; circuit judge seventeenth judicial circuit, 1919-25; general counsel, Florida Real Estate Commission, 1925-28; member, State house of representatives, 1927; city attorney, Orlando, 1926-29; State supreme court commissioner, 1929-32; elected United States Senator 1936, 1940; died September 18, 1946.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, a Senator from the State of North Carolina; Born September 14, 1873; editor; lawyer; attended Raleigh Academy; graduate, Wake Forest College, 1893; editor Biblical Recorder, 1893-1907; member, State board of agriculture, 1896-1900; Presidential elector, 1908; collector of internal revenue, 1913-21; member, constitutional commission, 1915; trustee, University of North Carolina, 1930; elected United States Senator 1930, 1936, and 1942; died December 15, 1946.

WILLIAM JAMES GALLAGHER, Third Congressional District of Minnesota: Born May 13, 1875; clerk; graduate, North High school, Minneapolis, 1894; employee of Hennepin County, 1927-42; Member of the Seventy-ninth Congress; died August 13, 1946.

WILLIAM BERNARD BARRY, Fourth Congressional District of New York: Born July 21, 1902; lawyer; graduate, New York University, 1925, and New York University Law School, 1929; assistant district attorney, Queens County, 1932-33; special United States attorney, Department of Justice, 1933-35; Member House of Representatives, Seventy-fourth and succeeding Congresses; died October 20, 1946.

ROBERT KIRKLAND HENRY, Second Congressional District of Wisconsin: Born February 9, 1890; banker; student, University of Wisconsin; State treasurer, 1931-35; Jefferson Municipal Water and Light Commissioner, 1939-44; State banking commissioner, 1940-44; Member, Seventy-ninth Congress; Member-elect, Eightieth Congress; died November 20, 1946.

FRED BARTHOLD NORMAN, Third Congressional District of Washington: Born March 21, 1882; merchant; graduate, Martinsville (Ill.) High School; member, Raymond (Wash.) City Council, 1916-18; member, Washington State House of Representatives,

MEMORIAL SERVICES

1910-20; State senate, 1925-36; president, Southwest Washington Good Roads Association; director, White Pass Cross State Highway Association; elected to the Seventy-eighth and Eightieth Congresses; died April 18, 1947.

CHARLES LEWIS GERLACH, Eighth Congressional District of Pennsylvania: Born September 14, 1895; businessman; educated in the public schools of Bethlehem; chairman, organization committee Republican clubs Lehigh County; Republican State committeeman, 1936-37; elected to the House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth and succeeding Congresses; died May 5, 1947.

Mrs. NORTON, a Representative from the State of New Jersey, standing in front of the Speaker's rostrum, and aided by Camellio Melchiorre, a page of the House of Representatives, placed a memorial rose in a vase as the name of each deceased Member was read by the Clerk.

There followed a period of devotional silence, during which the Members stood.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Keefel].

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK B. KEEFE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed fitting and proper that we set aside 1 day each year when we can pause for a time, and in the quiet and serenity of our garden of memories, reflect upon the life and work of our colleagues whom God in His infinite wisdom has called to eternal rest.

In vain we call the roll. They have left us. Never again will we hear the familiar voice or see the cheering smile or feel the sturdy handclasp. It seems only yesterday that they were here among us, and yet difficult as it is to realize the fact of death, we are comforted in the thought that each faced that great adventure without fear and with the assurance of St. John, who recorded "for God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

It is indeed a grand tradition that permits us in this hour to engrave upon the imperishable records of the Congress the love and respect which we all have for the memory of our deceased colleagues.

Is this a time only for sorrow? Should our thoughts turn only to the mysteries of death? Should we think only "of the stern agony and shroud and pall and breathless darkness and the narrow house?" All nature rebels at the very suggestion. On every side, God's handiwork bids us think not of death but of life. As has been so well said by the poet: "Whether we look or whether we listen, we hear life murmur or see it glisten. Every clod feels a stir of might—an instinct within it that rises and towers and, groping blindly above it for light, climbs to a soul in grass and flowers."

Mr. Speaker, I like to think of the struggle of people all over the earth—the mothers and fathers of all races who in a mad and confused world, grope blindly but prayerfully for peace. Like the poet's insensible clod, there is an instinct within the heart of man that, pray God, will rise and tower and some day burst forth into a soul of love and world peace.

Our colleagues served their country during the most exciting and dramatic period in the world's history. They heard the agonized pleas of the little people of the world who cried out for peace, people who knew of the chaos and destructiveness of war and who wanted nothing except liberty and freedom.

We recall the world events that precipitated the recent international tragedy. History has now recorded the noble phrases that defined America's moral objectives in a world torn by war.

We recall the promises to the little people of the world that America would forever carry the torch of freedom—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

We recall the numerous steps short of war that were allegedly designed to stop aggressors and to protect peace-loving nations.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

We recall the August 1941 conference aboard a battleship in the Atlantic, and we recall the nobility of thought and purpose expressed in the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, which, when proclaimed to the world, gave hope to lovers of freedom and liberty and peace.

We recall those promises which committed two great nations of the world; first, that we seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other; second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, they proclaimed their eternal devotion to self-government for all people to equal access of all to the trade and raw materials of the world, to improved labor conditions, to a peace which will afford assurances that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want; and finally, they avowed that the nations of the world must abandon the use of force.

Thus was hope extended to people of the world, whose enjoyment of the privileges of peace and liberty and freedom seemed crushed by the ruthless heel of a cruel dictator.

We recall how the heart of America swelled with just pride in the thought that we seek nothing except to give to all people the rights so beautifully proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. We recall how inexorably events led us to active participation and to final victory in the late World War.

Two years have passed since VJ-day. Two years since agonized and weary people throughout the world prayerfully thanked God that at long last the firing had ceased and peace and freedom and liberty were on the immediate horizon.

What has happened to the noble principles of the Atlantic Charter? What of the little people whose voices we heard crying out for peace and for liberty and for freedom? Now that we have made the greatest sacrifice in the history of the world, are they to be abandoned forever to exist as mere pawns in the hands of new and ruthless dictators?

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

In the confusion of Tehran, Yalta, Moscow, Potsdam, Casablanca, and Lake Success have those noble principles that graced our banners been smothered and wiped out?

As Americans, we rebel at the very thought that such might be the case. They must be revitalized and reestablished and reasserted as dynamic, living principles to guide the conduct of men. Millions of people throughout the world hopefully and prayerfully look to the United Nations as the vehicle through which ultimately the principles for which we fought may be realized.

Two years since VJ-day. Is there freedom from fear in the world? Ask the little people of Greece, of Italy, Rumania, Poland, Lithuania, Indochina, or India.

Is there freedom from want? Ask the hungry and starving people of Japan and China, of Austria and Hungary, Germany, Greece, Poland. Even ask the people of England. Ask the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons wandering in fear and want throughout Europe. Ask the millions of men who as so-called prisoners of war are, in violation of all international and moral laws, relegated to the crushing and debasing role of slaves.

Is there peace in the world today? The reverberation of gunfire in Palestine, China, Indochina, and Paraguay provides daily evidence that few, if any, of the problems that affect the lives of the little men and women of the world have been solved.

The threat of atomic destruction, of guided missiles, and germ and poison warfare stalks the world.

Everywhere men complain of the uncertainties of life. Young people and old complain of insecurity. Fear in the hearts of men everywhere—2 years after the official close of the shooting war that was fought to make men free.

Will we go from war to war, killing, maiming, and destroying? Has the world become so debauched that there is no answer to the prayers of those who pray for peace? Have we nothing better to offer the present and future generations?

MEMORIAL SERVICES

Has God permitted us to unlock his last great treasure house and given us the secrets of atomic and cosmic energy, only to use them to kill and destroy?

The answer is clear. We have not lost faith. There must be a great moral and spiritual awakening in the hearts and souls of men. There must be a gigantic crusade, guided by faith in God and inspired by the eternal principles of the Golden Rule and Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

Mr. Speaker, the light of the torch of freedom and liberty has been growing dim throughout the world. As recorded in holy writ: "For everyone that doeth evil, hateth the light; neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be re-proved. But he that doeth truth, cometh to the light that his deeds may be manifest that are wrought in God."

God has placed in the custody of the people of America that torch of freedom. We must rekindle its flame and, burning fiercely, lift it on high and carry forward that it may light up and destroy all the dark recesses and forces of hate, bigotry, and intolerance on this earth.

And so, my colleagues, in this hour of communion with the spirits of our departed friends, may we experience a renewal of faith and an inspiration for a continued life of devoted service to the ideals of Christian brotherhood.

Hon. HARVE TIBBOTT, accompanied by Musician Irving Filler, sang Beautiful Isle of Somewhere.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

ADDRESS BY HON. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we meet today in memory and in honor of our dear departed dead—those Members of the Senate and the House who have this past year gone to their eternal reward. They were our brothers, our colleagues, our friends; and to them we owe a debt we can never repay. Coming here as we do once a year for remembrance is to

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

participate in a ceremony which not only honors our departed friends but in a small way shows our appreciation for those who by their example give us courage to continue to fight for the ideals which motivated them as men, as Americans, as representatives of Americans.

In other countries, other people have different means of honoring their dead, but in all of them this recognition has been given wholeheartedly. Since time immemorial man has seen fit to render some sort of tribute to those who were no longer with them. We find, for example, that the Mayan Indians of Central America garbed their dead in fine garments, stored utensils of various kinds in the burial place, and sacrificed a dog for the occasion. The utensils were to give to the deceased a continuation of the things to which he had become accustomed; the garments were to keep him warm on his journey; and the dog was to lead his master along the path and into the land to where all good people go. In China the policy of ancestor veneration has been in practice for over 2,500 years and the memories of those who have passed away are never forgotten. Rather the good which they performed was always remembered, and the institution of the family was forever aware of the honor to be accorded to its members.

Just these few historic examples point to the fact that what we are doing here today is a continuation of that custom which has been followed by all men, in all countries, in all times.

As we gather here in this sad, sweet, tender hour of memorial, we should not mourn for those who are now at peace, for those who are now receiving just reward for work well done. Instead we should see in their passing the completion of their life's cycle and a transposing of the striving and yearning of their spirit to the land that "no eye hath seen" where they can continue their aspirations on a spiritual level. We who are left behind, should be imbued with their goodness, for the works of the spirit never die, and find

MEMORIAL SERVICES

encouragement, hope, and inspiration to finish in the here and now the task they began. If we were to stand here with the belief that their passing from this life was the end of it all—that the grave was really the goal, than I say we would have true cause to mourn. But everything around us points to the continuity of life. We all accept the laws of physics—the conservation of matter. We know that no physical matter is destroyed, but only transformed. The rose blooms, dies, nourishes the ground which produces the new rose. The clouds lift in their arms the waters of the seven seas and carry them to let fall on the parched earth, whose rivers and streams in turn carry them again to their mother ocean.

If we accept all this—these things we see with our eyes, know with our senses, then surely we must also accept the indestructibility of those spiritual things in man, his thoughts, personality, soul. From time immemorial, man has looked upon the order of the universe—the change of seasons, the pathways of the stars, the cycle of life from birth to death—and of the necessity born of reasoning attributed these wonders to a source, a first cause, a God.

It is inherent in the nature of man to feel his own immortality. The wonders of Nature and the thoughts of man are sparks from the Supreme Intelligence who creates everything and destroys nothing. With this belief, we thus feel that our departed comrades and we ourselves become a part of the somehow oneness of all existing things. They continue to exist on a higher plane; we grasp the torch they fling us in passing and endeavor to carry on their highest aspirations and ideals on this earth. By so doing we keep alive the ties of humanity, that ever-ending chain which encompasses all eternity.

All of those who comprised the links in this chain were not without fault, but it is perhaps because of their faults that we appreciate their virtues the more. Man was not born to be perfect—that is God's prerogative only—but man has constantly striven toward perfection. The frailties which

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

beset our departed friends are the frailties of those still left behind. Therefore, we should write their faults in sand and their virtues on tablets of love. It is as if they asked us to dig a little hole in our hearts and bury them there and lay the fresh flowers of understanding and remembrance on them often. It is not difficult for us to remember them in kindness and charity for we can say with Longfellow:

We may build more splendid habitations, fill our rooms with paintings and with sculptures, but we cannot buy with gold the old associations.

Words cannot express how much they will be missed by family and friends. It is not in the power of man to know the influence of another man's life. To each is given specific talents and graces and thought processes, which go to make up his personality and make him unique among his associates. Each deed he performs is his very own and has its influence where not even he sometimes knows. As we glance back in memory at the faces of former Congresses we remember one man for his deeds and great words of courage, another for his intense devotion to the duties of his office, another for his skill in debate, and still another for his integrity and moral purpose. We may miss a friend for something as simple as a cheering smile, a word of encouragement, the greater wordless depth of his understanding. We will miss the pleasure of still another's hearty handshake, buoyancy, and love of life. The man whose little hidden kindly deeds that were known but to us alone, we shall miss most of all.

When we consider the traits of personality and character which endeared our departed friends to us, we should pause to weigh how many opportunities for fellowship and understanding elude us who are left because we are engrossed in our own particular spheres of duty. We are often too busy with our usual workaday lives to enlarge our understanding and to enrich our own characters by wholeheartedly giving of ourselves in sincere friendship. Here in this Congress sit men from every State and Territory in our grand old Union.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

From the forests of Washington, and Maine, and Oregon; from California's sunny clime; from Kansas' waving plains and Mississippi's cottonfields; from New York's man-made canyons and my own Montana's shining mountains—come our colaborers with the wealth of their knowledge. Here we can exchange information about commerce and industry and agriculture and mining. We can have first-hand information about these from those who know them best—for you who sit here represent these infinite and various fields that make up the vast panorama that is America. As we stand here in recollection of our former colleagues, maybe wistfully wishing that we had taken time in one case to lend a helping hand or in another to say a word of praise, let us resolve that we will not fail to cement the bonds of friendship offered here now.

At this hour of remembrance we like to remember our comrades as men who, coming to this great legislative body, were moved with the desire to be of service to their fellow citizens. They assumed obligations not alone because of the personal benefits to be derived, but because of the contributions they felt they could give to the welfare of their community, State, and Nation. As legislators it was their constant duty to answer their country's needs, and in so doing, they tried to keep alive in this land the principles of peace, freedom, and equality. Yes, this is the way we think of them. We can say that it was their hourly care, as men and Americans, "to do that which their hands findeth to do with carefulness, unaffected dignity, humanity, freedom, and justice." Each of these departed ones labored to make this a better, a more abundant, and a more beautiful world. Their good deeds live after them. Each act of kindness, of humanity, of courage, of wisdom, of justice, which they performed somehow makes less burdensome our present task of taking up their work where they left off. Good never dies. It permeates our present and makes possible our future. Let us

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

therefore take pride in the lofty endeavors of our departed colleagues and keep their memory fresh by carrying on their ideals.

I can think of no better way to show our respect to our dead or our duty to ourselves and to the future citizens of our country than to live up to the ideals of charity, justice, fidelity, and democracy which motivated the lives of these departed Members being honored today. It seems to me that the very foundation of our lives and Nation depends on the practice of such ideals. Today with our democracy being threatened on all sides, it is imperative that we live in bonds of closer understanding and unanimity. We should adhere to the precepts that actuated them as good Americans: to be democratic in our daily lives, to live and let live, to practice charity and tolerance, to allow free speech, the practice of one's own religion, and freedom of organization and assembly. They lived for democracy, fought for it, each in his own way, and practiced it so that we who remain behind can continue in the rights and privileges which they loved so much and treasured so dearly. Their heritage to us is something which we shall forever cherish because it is our connection with them. They served during difficult times. They met the problems confronting them with courage and fortitude, thus giving us hope that we may solve those that now face us—internal troubles which will take our greatest efforts, and external ones which make us apprehensive. They fought vigorously and fervently for peace, and now they have that peace which surpasses all understanding. We feel, therefore, that they can, from that eternal land to which they have gone but where they still live, inspire us to carry on their work for peace on earth and good will among men.

They gave their lives as truly as any soldier on the field of battle and they exemplified in their persons that duty to

MEMORIAL SERVICES

God and country so characteristic of the membership of this great body. In the words of the poet Joyce Kilmer, I should like to greet the departed ones:

Farewell!
Comrades true, born anew, peace to you!
Your souls shall be where the heroes are
And your memory shine like the morning star.
Brave and dear,
Shield us here.
Farewell!

Musician Robert De Hart, United States Marine Corps, sounded taps.

The Chaplain pronounced the following benediction:

The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift the light of His countenance upon you and give you peace.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The relatives of the deceased Members were escorted from the Chamber by the Committee on Memorials.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 179, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 20, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

Memorial Exercises
in the
United States Senate

Memorial Exercises in the Senate



WEDNESDAY, *April 21, 1948.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, the hour has arrived for holding memorial services for deceased Senators.

Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., pastor, Gunton-Temple Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following invocation:

Almighty God, with a humble spirit and a contrite heart we call upon Thy great and holy name. In the life of each of us there are times when all our feelings seem to impose silence.

Grant that in this hour of sacred memory we may enter into a blessed communion with Thy Spirit, and the spirit of all upon whom Thou hast bestowed the glorious benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of Thy Lord."

Hear us for the sake of the Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

Solo, *There Is No Death—O'Hara*—by Robert C. Nicholson, baritone, Wesley Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., accompanied on the piano by William Watkins, organist, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

THERE IS NO DEATH

I tell you they have not died,
They live and breathe with you,
They walk now here at your side,
They tell you things are true,
Why dream of popped sod
When you can feel their breath,
When flower and soul and God
Know there is no death?

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

I tell you they have not died,
Their hands clasp yours and mine,
They are but glorified,
They have become divine.
They live, they know, they see!
They shout with every breath:
"All is eternal life;
"There is no death."

Dr. BRASKAMP. The Scripture readings are taken from the Old and New Testaments.

Psalm 85: "I will hear what God the Lord will say, for He will speak peace unto His people and to His saints."

Psalm 90: "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

Then from the New Testament these gracious words which were spoken by our blessed Lord:

John 14: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.

"In My Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

"And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself, that where I am there ye may be also.

"Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

In St. Paul's great chapter on the resurrection, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, we find these words:

"Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

"For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

"For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

PRAYER BY DR. BRASKAMP

Most merciful and gracious God, the God of our fathers and of their succeeding generations, through Thy holy word Thou hast spoken and in our hearts Thy voice is heard.

Thou art the author and disposer of human life, from whom our spirits have come and unto whom they return.

We thank Thee for Thy servants who walked and worked with us for a little while upon this earth and who now are with Thee in heavenly blessedness, having received, as the reward of their faith and their fidelity, the salvation of their souls.

We rejoice that whatever was noble and beautiful in their life, in Thy sight and in our sight, abides forever. We bless Thee for the glorious testimony that they sought to serve their generation according to Thy holy will and were numbered among those who do justly, who love mercy, and who walk humbly with the Lord. We have not said "farewell" but only "good night," hoping on some blessed morn to meet and dwell with them in hallowed union in that land whose language is music and where joys are unceasing.

Grant unto the sorrowing and the lonely the consolation of Thy grace. May they yield themselves without murmur or complaint to the dispensations of Thy providence for Thou dost give and Thou dost take away, and blessed is Thy name forevermore. Help them to lay hold of the peace and the eternal companionship of the Christ.

We pray that Thou wilt continue to bless our Nation, our President, and all who hold positions of leadership and responsibility in the affairs of government. May we be a Nation whose God is the Lord. We are not asking Thee

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

to deal with us in any preferential manner. We are not praying that Thou wilt make our beloved country a comfortable lotus land. May we be loyal partners with all who are laboring to build the kingdom of justice and righteousness, the social order in which there shall be peace and good will among men. Enable us to carry on in faith, in faithfulness, and in the fear of the Lord as we daily meet the problems and tasks which challenge the consecration of our noblest manhood.

To Thy name we ascribe all the praise. Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED SENATORS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chief Clerk will call the roll of the Members of the Senate who have passed to the Great Beyond.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JAMES GRAVES SCRUGHAM, a Senator from the State of Nevada, born January 19, 1880; graduated from the University of Kentucky receiving bachelor and master degrees in engineering; Governor of Nevada, 1923-27; editor and publisher of the Nevada State Journal, 1927-32; served as State engineer, 1919-23; United States Army 1917-18; one of the incorporators of the American Legion, 1919; commander of the Nevada Department, American Legion, 1919; and national vice commander 1920-21; elected to the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, Seventy-sixth, and Seventy-seventh Congresses; elected United States Senator November 3, 1942, to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Key Pittman ending January 3, 1947. Died June 23, 1945.

HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON, a Senator from the State of California, born September 2, 1866; educated in the public schools of Sacramento and University of California; by profession, lawyer; elected Governor of California in 1910; reelected Governor in 1914; elected United States Senator in 1916, 1922, 1928, 1934, and 1940; died August 6, 1945.

JOHN THOMAS, a Senator from the State of Idaho; born January 4, 1874; engaged in livestock business; served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Idaho for 4 years; was member of the Republican National Committee two terms; was appointed to the Senate June 30, 1928, and elected November 6,

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

1928, to succeed Senator Frank R. Gooding, deceased, for the term ending March 3, 1933; again appointed to the Senate January 27, 1940, to succeed Senator William E. Borah, deceased, to serve until the next general election, when he was elected to fill balance of Senator Borah's unexpired term ending January 3, 1943; reelected November 3, 1942, for the term ending January 3, 1949. Died November 10, 1945.

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia; born January 4, 1858, printer; reporter; editor; publisher; student of private and public schools; member, board of visitors, University of Virginia, 1898-1906; member State senate, 1899-1903; delegate, State constitutional convention, 1901; Member, House of Representatives, Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fifth Congresses; Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; declined reappointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Member of the United States Senate, under appointment and election from February 2, 1920; died May 28, 1946.

JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d, a Senator from the State of Alabama; born, July 8, 1872; lawyer; graduate, University of Alabama, 1891, and Georgetown University, 1893; major, Alabama National Guard, 1901-3; member, State house of representatives, 1904-5; trustee, University of Alabama, 1917-19 and 1931-46; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died, June 12, 1946.

CHARLES OSCAR ANDREWS, a Senator from the State of Florida; born, March 7, 1877; soldier; lawyer; judge; attended South Florida Military Institute; graduate, State normal school, 1901, and University of Florida, 1907; captain, National Guard, Spanish-American War; secretary, State senate, 1905-7 and 1909-11; judge of the criminal court of record, Walton County, 1910-11; assistant attorney general, 1912-19; circuit judge, seventeenth judicial circuit, 1919-25; member, State house of representatives, 1927; city attorney, Orlando, 1926-29; State supreme court commissioner, 1929-32; elected United States Senator, 1936 and 1940; died, September 18, 1946.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, a Senator from the State of North Carolina; born, September 14, 1873; editor; lawyer; attended Raleigh Academy; graduate, Wake Forest College, 1893; editor, Biblical Recorder, 1893-1907; member, State board of agriculture, 1896-1900; Presidential elector, 1908; collector of internal revenue, 1913-21; member, constitutional commission, 1915; trustee, University of North Carolina, 1930; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died, December 15, 1946.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

THEODORE GILMORE BILBO, a Senator from the State of Mississippi; born, October 13, 1877; attended Peabody College at Nashville, Tenn.; Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; and the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor; lawyer and farmer; member of the State senate, 1908-12; served as Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi, 1912-16, and as Governor, 1916-20 and 1928-32; elected United States Senator, 1934, 1940, and 1946; died, August 21, 1947.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Brooks].

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, memorial services are traditional in America. There are many ways of conducting them. But this service is indeed unique.

We are honored to participate as representatives of the 48 States of the Union as we meet by our own resolve to pay tribute to the lives, the works, and the memory of our former associates and colleagues who have answered the roll call of eternity.

While we do this by our own motion, in a truer sense we do so under the influence of feelings in which the whole family of Americans unites with us.

While we pay our humble tribute to the revered memory of these former Members, colleagues, and associates, as individuals we pay special tribute to their endeavors and their contributions to the preservation of our Republic and the advancement of human rights under our form of government.

Progress is not automatic; the world grows better because people wish that it should and because they take the right steps to make it better.

In this forum—this truly deliberative body—these men came representing their various States and constituencies to participate and play their full part in hammering out on the anvil of consultation and public debate the legislative enactments that would help steer our ship of state ever onward and forward to fulfill its destiny among the governments of the earth.

In this all-important and arduous task they gave their all and at the end of their life's endeavor, standing at the top

of the ladder, they handed on to us our great responsibility and stepped across the great divide.

By those who knew each of them intimately and well, no doubt an individual tribute could be paid that would live as a bit of romantic literature, but I was a junior in this honored body when most of them had passed, on life's highway, that stone which marked the highest point. They had climbed the heights and left petty superstitions far below, while on their foreheads fell the golden dawning of a grander day.

Coinciding with the glorious history of our beloved country is the history of the Senate of the United States. Each page of that history records the endeavor, accomplishments, and occasionally the death of an illustrious man. Each era has been both important and strenuous, but in my humble judgment no period in all our history has been more exacting and demanding of human energy than the short span of years in which these honored representatives of their respective States actually laid their lives on the altar of service to their State and Nation.

These men with their varying viewpoints, with their peculiar backgrounds of education, interests, and training, representing their particular political philosophies, made their magnificent individual contributions to the inspiration, courage, and strength of present-day America.

These honored men carried into this forum their talents of determination representing the varying views that not only occasioned the birth of our beloved country, but guarantees its future existence not only as a free country for Americans, but the hope of the freedom-loving people of the entire world.

Throughout their lifetime, countless individuals were the beneficiaries of their works, and America is likewise the real beneficiary of their good deeds. On such an occasion, I labor only for words to do justice to your feelings and mine.

Words of any one individual are inadequate to fully express on an occasion of this kind the thoughts and emotions

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

many may feel. Each of us in varying degrees learned to know and respect the individuals whose memory we honor today. With this fully in mind may it not be said that we, the members of the Senate of the United States who are assembled here today, cherish and honor the memory of our colleagues who have gone to meet their Maker.

They left us singly and in the sad succession appointed by the order of nature; but having lived, acted, and counseled with us, we honor them together today.

During their long careers of duty, forgetting the little that had divided them, and cherishing the great communion of service, they walked in honorable friendship the declining pathway of age.

No martial music, no blare of trumpets, no great parade, summoned these men either to their outstanding service or to their graves, but they were fighters just the same for the cause they represented. Each, in his own way, was a champion of the cause he believed best for his country.

We respect them for their undaunted courage, the energy and devotion with which they marched along the long rugged road of duty.

We miss them, but we know that while they no longer answer the roll call in this historic Chamber, they answer that longer roll call that contains the names of heroic men who served and died that America might be and continue to be a Government of free men devoted to liberty, to justice, and to God.

Solo, Beautiful Isle of Somewhere—Ferris—by Robert C. Nicholson, accompanied at the piano by William Watkins.

BEAUTIFUL ISLE OF SOMEWHERE

Somewhere the sun is shining,
Somewhere the songbirds dwell.
Hush then thy sad repining,
God lives and all is well.
Somewhere the day is longer,
Somewhere the task is done.
Somewhere the heart is stronger,
Somewhere the guerdon won.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

Somewhere the load is lifted,
Close by an open gate.
Somewhere the clouds are rifted,
Somewhere the angels wait.

(Chorus)

Somewhere, somewhere, beautiful isle of somewhere.
Land of the true, where we live anew,
Beautiful isle of somewhere!

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Hoey].

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, life is real and likewise mystical. The high estate of man's creation makes him a little lower than the angels and gives him dominion over all other created and elemental things. He is the inheritor of all the past ages. From the dusty pages of antiquity the progress of man has been illuminating the processes of life over the long centuries. Into the real life of today has been projected the mystical life of tomorrow. Immortality begins on earth. The struggle of man has been to build an enduring civilization here and to adorn it with the revealed and discovered truths of God. The search of man has been for truth, and in his quest for its attainment he has mastered much of the universe and made it subservient to his imperial will.

The majestic passages in the first chapter of Genesis describing the origin of man stamp him with the image of his Creator and crown him with honor and glory, and then the stately steppings of that graphic portrayal of his possibilities accord to him unquestioned dominion over the fowls of the air, the beasts of the field, and the fish of the sea, including all things passing through the paths of the sea. Man has marvelously attained this dominion and fulfilled this prophecy. He has gone deeper down into the sea than any fish has dared to go. He has soared higher into the air than the eagle, the king of birds, has been able to ascend—and he has gone into the stratosphere to join the celestial bodies as they float out through illimitable space.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Man speaks and his voice can be heard around the world, whereas the explosions of nature can be heard for only a few hundred miles, at best. The hurricane roars across the surface of the earth at 150 miles an hour, but man speeds along at 400 miles an hour and travels through space in a ship of his own creation at 800 to 1,000 miles an hour. Man measures the distance of the sun, moon, and stars, and counts and measures the circumference of the constellations in the sky. When Halley's comet skirts across our horizon at a terrific rate of speed, man calculates within a few seconds the time when that swift traveler will return after it has rambled through unexplored space along its charted course for 75 years.

Man has only recently split the atom and released the force and power of the universe. But the atom is not dangerous. Only man is dangerous.

But there is appointed a time for man to die. There is something majestic about death. Its very universality makes it a dreaded visitor in the homes of kings and subjects, presidents and citizens, rich and poor, white and colored, around the whole world. It levels all rank and makes a common denominator of all men. Sickness and death are not the tragedies of life; they are only the sadnesses. The age-old question propounded in the Book of Job, "If a man die, shall he live again," is affirmatively answered by the faith of man in immortality, and all nature shares that faith as it experiences a beautiful resurrection each springtime from the death of winter.

Edmund Burke said that civilization was a covenant between the dead, the living, and the unborn. What do we mean by civilization? It encompasses everything. The fields and farms, the factories and shops, the business houses and homes, the skyscrapers and humble cottages, the railroads, automobiles, and airplanes, the telephones, telegraph and radios, the churches, synagogues and cathedrals, the schools, colleges, and universities, the games, sports, and recreational

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

centers, the graveyards, cemeteries, and mausoleums—all of these and more constitute American civilization.

Deep in the consciousness of our civilization is the stalwart figure of the early settler and pioneer who came to our shores seeking liberty and freedom, and who dared to visualize a land where a man could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and where none could molest or make him afraid. It also embraces the daring conception of a government where all power is lodged in the aggregate assembly of free men and women and where government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Our honored dead have given us this civilization, and our loved colleagues belonged to that immortal company of men and women who through the years labored intelligently and painstakingly to perfect this structure of a democracy that might endure and vouchsafe to us who live today, and to the unborn of tomorrow, the blessings of liberty and freedom and the benign influences of justice and righteousness in government and among men.

Civilization also encompasses the indescribably sacred picture of a mother bending over the bed of her offspring at eventide to hear it lisp the name of God in the simple prayer of childhood, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

The supreme sacrifice by which men die for their country and fellow men becomes a part of our civilization. In all wars, and particularly in the recent one, heroic souls have joined the immortals of earth in selfless death that liberty might endure and that peace might be possible. Only one illustration shall suffice. When one of our oil tankers was torpedoed in the Pacific and the commanding officer and his crew escaped the flaming boat, it appeared that the lifeboats were overloaded, whereupon the gallant lieutenant said, "We must leave the lifeboats for the injured," and immediately dived overboard into the surging sea, followed by 15 of his heroic men. Only 3 of them were ever seen again. They were swallowed up by the angry waves, and they had only the

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ocean for a sepulchre; but they left a trail of glory that time cannot efface.

At the same time a pharmacist mate administered tannic acid to the deep burns of the injured men to prevent their flesh from flecking off, and then visited another boat for the same purpose, and while swimming to a third boat became exhausted and went down, never to come up again; but there was the dew of immortality upon his brow and the radiance of heaven illuminating his watery grave.

Our illustrious colleagues in whose honor we assemble today belong in the category of those who served during those days of stress and crises, and they are among the casualties of war. They died gloriously in the service of their country. Eight of our comrades have passed away since the close of the war. They participated in the debates on the momentous issues determined in this greatest world forum of thought and action. They had a share in all of the history-making legislation enacted preceding and during the war years. They gave unstintingly of their time and efforts in behalf of our victory at arms and in furtherance of the cause of peace. We pause today to pay homage to their memories. Their colleagues who survive and still serve here will pay just tribute by the written word to them individually and thus preserve for posterity a record of their illustrious service and achievements. The youngest died in his 65th year and the oldest had passed his 88th milestone. Reasonably long life was vouchsafed to each of them ere the "silver cord was loosed or the golden bowl broken." In saluting their memory, I feel that they were able to join Byron in telling Death, that omnipotent tyrant, to his everlasting face that he possessed no sting, and in challenging the grave, his sleepless handmaiden to dare proclaim a victory. May God rest their souls.

The high obligation of this hour remains with us who still live and serve here to preserve the heritage of our civilization for the benefit of those now living and for the unborn

to follow after us. The days may be dark and the future clouded with many unhappy prospects; but if we are worthy of those who have gone before, we shall not falter in meeting the responsibilities of the times and underwriting the guaranties of liberty, freedom, and peace for the tomorrows.

These days call for high thinking, noble action, and unselfish dedication to the ideals of the Republic and to the spiritual verities which shall always be a source of strength and power in every crisis. It is well to remember that there has never been a night dark enough to put out the stars and that amid all the confusion, strife, and chaos extant in the earth, still this is my Father's world. Speaking of this atomic age, Walter Lippmann recently said, "Now the whole structure of our intellectual life must undergo a cleansing and reformation." Winston Churchill said about the same time, "Man must have a new heart." The great prophet Isaiah offered the solution more than 2,500 years ago when he wrote:

They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.

Everything is not gloom and pessimism. War is not inevitable, peace is not impossible. There is more of human sympathy than the world has known before, and divine compassion is as inexhaustible as the measure of God's love. America has opened wide her heart and delved deep into her treasure to relieve the suffering and want of the hungry and starving of the world—both friend and foe.

We have in a practical way voiced our concern for the devastated nations of earth, and we have known no race or clime. Our American ideals have found expression in the fullness of our generosity and the breadth of our sympathy at home and abroad. All faiths and creeds give expression in song and story to our conception of the universality of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

It was a Catholic who wrote, *Lead Kindly Light*; it was a Baptist who wrote, "Amazing Grace, how sweet the sound, that saved a wretch like me"; it was a Presbyterian who wrote "Rock of Ages, cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee"; it was Martin Luther, the founder of the Lutheran Church, who wrote, "A mighty fortress is our God, a bulwark never failing"; it was a Methodist who wrote, "Jesus, lover of my soul, let me to thy bosom fly, while the nearer waters roll, while the tempest still is high"; it was an Episcopalian, a follower of the Church of England, who wrote, "All hail the power of Jesus' name! Let angels prostrate fall; bring forth the royal diadem, and crown Him Lord of all"; it was a Jew who wrote:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Thus speaking the universal language of mankind, voicing the hopes and the aspirations of the human heart.

"Our fathers' God, to thee,

Author of liberty,

To thee we sing:

Long may our land be bright

With freedom's holy light;

Protect us by Thy might,

Great God, our King."

Taps by Sgt. Chris G. Stergiou, United States Marine Corps.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

Dr. Braskamp pronounced the following benediction:

"The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift upon you His countenance and give you peace. Amen."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased Senators, the Senate stands adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 22, 1948, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Memorial Addresses
in the
United States Senate

Memorial Addresses



Address by Senator Byrd

of Virginia

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I shall always think of JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY as a man who had faith in truth, who sought the truth and tried always to spread it.

His judgment was unswervingly based upon righteousness and in righteousness he performed his duty.

He was a master of self-judgment and self-control. He possessed special qualities of mind and heart—qualities that were both natural and acquired.

He combined these traits with a manly bearing, a genial and winning grace, impressive dignity, and admirable character.

Those who served with him in the Senate of the United States were keenly aware of his ability to transform these attributes into effective, useful energy in the best interest of his country.

Like others among his host of friends, I miss his sound counsel terribly, for with cold calculation he had a way of cutting straight into a problem and facing it head on.

It was with such calm and fearless deliberateness that he reversed his deeply rooted views on foreign policy in 1941 when he told the Senate that he had changed his mind; that he was advocating "intervention with all its implications." He had seen the specter of Hitler across Europe, and he said "all my life I have looked a thing straight in the face and argued it as it is."

He followed through by urging postwar participation in the maintenance of peace, and in his last statement to the

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

people of North Carolina, whom he had served in the Senate since 1931, he counseled that even should the United Nations organization fail, it did not necessarily mean war. "It does mean," he said, "that it will be necessary for us to get along in a world not fully organized for peace—which will be most difficult."

With the same high-minded vigor he opposed and denounced other measures advocated by the leadership of his political party, such as packing the Supreme Court, Federal anti-poll-tax legislation, and Federal antilynch legislation.

He could not support these measures, he said, because it was plain that they were unsound, and in the long run the consequences would be bad for the people he served.

No man could have been more faithful to his principles, for when he was first elected to the Senate he resolved to preserve the Republic in the true character in which it had served our people so well for 150 years.

Time and time again I marveled at his courage—the kind of courage that brought him into open opposition to the appointment of a former Vice President of the United States to a Cabinet position.

My own devotion for Senator BAILEY came from two sources. One was pure admiration for the man, his great ability and his highly governed mind, which found pleasure in nothing but the true and the just. The other was his friendship for me, which he evidenced in so many ways. I have never known a sweeter character or a friend I loved more. I shall always treasure the numerous letters he wrote me in his own hand, in which he discussed some of the great issues of the day. To be closely associated with JOE BAILEY was one of the greatest privileges that has ever come to me. As long as I live I shall treasure his memory. He was born of parents who were Virginians, and that made our friendship even closer.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

From these parents he inherited the religious background which so richly influenced his philosophy. With this background he went on to equip himself thoroughly for his remarkable service in this great legislative body by furthering his study of law, serving his party as a Presidential elector at large, by serving his State as a member of its constitutional convention, and by serving his country as a collector of the revenue.

No State has been better served in Congress than was North Carolina by its Senator BAILEY, and he was never unmindful of the trust his people reposed in him. The nobility of the man was demonstrated in his message to the people of the State which was written during his last illness.

In this statement he gave his constituents the benefit of his views and the reasons for them, and he concluded the message with characteristic humility:

"These are my views, honestly expressed," he wrote, "and I express them in part discharge of the great debt I owe the people of our State."

To me, at least, it was significant indeed that one of the last bits of advice from his wealth of judgment was that no man should be elected to Congress until he pledged that he would reduce expenditures and balance our budget and keep it balanced.

Senator BAILEY took this occasion to remind his people that—

An eminent historian prophesied early in the nineteenth century that our Republic would be plundered in the twentieth century, not by a foreign invader but by its own people.

That plundering is now and has been for several years going on.

It was well, indeed, that JOE BAILEY was a man who, at once, could be both serious and cheerful. This was another reason why his advice was sought and followed. He never departed from the belief that much could be retrieved that

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

seemed to be lost. He was never the cynic. He was never the pessimist. He was never the critic save constructively. He was a benefactor of humanity.

I know that other Senators miss him as I do, but we take comfort in the fact that he is still helping us think, for he has left for us, here in the Hall of the Senate, marks of his refined culture and a great fund of facts and anecdotes which were the products of his keen thought and intellect.

His shrine is in the hearts of all of us who knew him.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

Address by Senator Hoey *of North Carolina*

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY was elected to the United States Senate from North Carolina in November 1930, and entered upon the discharge of his duties in the Senate on March 4, 1931. He was reelected for another term of 6 years in November 1936, and for another similar term in November 1942, and served until his death at his home in Raleigh, N. C., on December 15, 1946. While he was elected for a total of 18 years, he served nearly 16 years before his useful career ended in death.

Senator BAILEY was wholly a North Carolina product. He was born in the State, educated in her public schools and at Wake Forest College; studied law under Dr. Samuel F. Mordecai and at Wake Forest Law School, licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in 1908; and filled many positions of prominence and importance in the State, and spent his whole life in North Carolina, with the exception of the years when he was temporarily away from the State serving in the Senate in Washington.

Senator BAILEY was born at Warrenton, N. C., on September 14, 1873. After completing his high-school course and graduating from Wake Forest College, he succeeded his distinguished father as editor of the Biblical Recorder, the official organ of the great Baptist denomination in North Carolina, and served in this capacity from 1893 to 1907, and achieved distinction and fame as a brilliant writer and publicist. In the meantime, he served as a member of the State board of agriculture from 1896 to 1900, and was Democratic Presidential elector-at-large in 1908. He began the practice of law after obtaining his license in 1908 and readily established a large practice. In 1913 he was appointed col-

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

commission and rendered valuable service to the State in that Carolina by President Woodrow Wilson and served until 1921. In 1915 he was a member of a State constitutional commission and rendered valuable service to the State in that capacity.

After retiring from the office of collector of internal revenue in 1921, Senator BAILEY formed a law partnership with his distinguished father-in-law, Hon. James H. Pou, of Raleigh, who was one of the outstanding lawyers in the State, and this firm enjoyed an extensive and lucrative practice. Upon his election to the Senate in 1930, Senator BAILEY withdrew from active participation in the firm.

Senator BAILEY was married in 1916 to Edith Walker Pou, a young woman of rare charm and grace and the brilliant daughter of distinguished parents, Hon. James H. and Mrs. Pou. Five children were born to this marriage, to wit: James H. Pou Bailey, Mrs. William J. Primm, Josiah W. Bailey, Jr., Edith Pou Bailey, and Sally Bailey. In all the relations of life Senator BAILEY was faithful and loyal, thoroughly devoted to his family, happy in his home, and strong in his faith in God and his fellow man.

Senator BAILEY was a student, a thinker, a logician, an orator, and a master of debate. He was well informed on all subjects and could discourse intelligently and entertainingly on any question of domestic policy or international concern. He was eminent as editor, lawyer, executive, legislator, and advocate, and throughout his whole career a real crusader for causes which he espoused and to which he gave his militant leadership. He was a born fighter. He never ran away from any sort of fight and his courage matched his great ability. The famous debates in which he was engaged during his service in the Senate demonstrated his outstanding ability and his unsurpassed power of analysis, as well as his logical and powerful presentation of his views and arguments. The speech delivered by him in the Senate during the famous court bill fight takes first rank as one of the great deliverances

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

of all time in the Senate and is often referred to in connection with the memorable addresses of Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and other great orators and advocates of other years.

Senator BAILEY was chairman of the powerful Commerce Committee of the Senate at the time of his death. He had served on many important committees and had an influential part in shaping legislation during his whole period of service. He was known for his clear thinking, his independence of action, and his courageous leadership. He never sought the popular side nor chose the easy way. He was guided by a high sense of duty and moved majestically toward the goal which he set for himself without regard to consequences to his political fortunes or his future successes. As a result, he alienated some support and aroused some criticism, but he never failed to bare his breast to the enemy and fight boldly in the open, neither giving nor asking quarter.

This phase of the life of Senator BAILEY is most effectively presented in an article from the Houston (Tex.) Post, which reads as follows:

THE HARD WAY

Back in 1937, a friend of the late Senator JOSIAH BAILEY, of North Carolina, asked him why he deliberately bucked the New Deal when it would be so much easier and profitable to go along with the tide. Jack Dionne, of Houston, has sent the Post a copy of BAILEY's reply, with a note saying, "I think the first page of this letter is the grandest thing in the way of a political declaration I have ever read in all my life."

The Senator's political declaration follows:

"I remember one Pontius Pilate. He pleased his crowd and let them slay their best friend. He went the easy way. So he held the governorship. I do not admire him, but he was a smart politician.

"I remember one Peter—a fisherman, who declared to the people demanding that he agree: We ought to please God rather than men. He went the hard way. They tell me he lost his life on a cross. But I admire him.

"I remember Christopher Columbus, the majority of whose sailors demanded that he turn back, but who nevertheless pressed on.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

He went the hard way. But he was most unpopular with his crew. But he discovered America.

"I remember Robert E. Lee, who refused the command of the Union Army, and all the rewards of the national gratitude, to do his duty to his State. He went the hard way. There were some who called him a traitor. And there are those to whom he is an inspiration.

"I remember Moses, who chose to dwell in the tents of the wandering tribes of Israel rather than the palaces of the Pharaohs. He went the hard way. He died in the wilderness, but God gave him a mountaintop to die on—and he is still on the mountain.

"I remember Him who said to the Pharisees, 'Your fathers stoned the prophets and you build monuments to them.' He knew the hard way. He died on the instrument of the slave's torture. But all men look to Him on that cross.

"None of these were popular men. They, unlike Pilate, went against the tide of public opinion. None of them was ever governor.

"So if I have made my choice, you must say that I choose the hard way; that I did not choose it because I was a fool, or wilfully; that I chose it unselfishly, but for the people who have trusted me and honored me."

There was another side to Senator BAILEY, which was revealed only to his family and intimates. He not only wrote fine prose, but he had the imagination and the soul of a poet. Just for pastime or in moments of meditation, he would write a poem occasionally. Following are two which reveal his deep and fervent sentiment. One is entitled "Dusk" and the other "Evening Prayer," giving some insight into his strong religious faith:

DUSK

Lo, tranquil dusk, in purple robe and gray,
Hath come to shrive Apollo's latest son,
And sings sweet requiem for dying day
As swift he fades into oblivion!

Yon evening star a lonely candle burns
Above bright paths of gold to gates ajar—
In longing dear the homing heart returns
From daily quest or alien lands afar.

The tide of light ebbs out and shadows fall—
The spirit's hour is come, the soul breaks free
Of earthly bond, and, answering the call
Of home, doth hearken to eternity.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

EVENING PRAYER

Now shadows deep have barred the gate of day
And Vesper leads his shining hosts on high,
Enfolding night with quiet touch and sway
Doth still the world—alone with God am I.
Dear God, Thou are the pillow of my soul,
My pilot Thou upon life's pathless sea,
My refuge sure and my eternal goal,
In storm and calm hold Thou my way to Thee.
For faith I pray, in Thee to find repose,
Assured that Thou Thine own in love wilt keep
By grace of Him, Thy Son, fair Sharon's rose,
And lay me down in holy peace to sleep.

I would not close this brief tribute to Senator BAILEY without expressing my own sense of personal loss in his passing. He was my friend for over a half century. He measured up to all the standards by which men determine greatness, and in the loyalty of his life and the whiteness of his soul he won and held the esteem and affection of all who were permitted to enter into the charmed circle of his intimate friends. God bless his memory.

Mr. President, I wish to have inserted, following my remarks, an address to the people of North Carolina, prepared by Senator BAILEY a short time before his death in December 1946, and which he had intended to release for publication upon the convening of the Eightieth Congress in January 1947, announcing his retirement from Congress upon the expiration of the term to which he had been previously elected. This is a very able and thoughtful address and may well be regarded as his last will and testament on public questions and governmental policies. The address follows:

To the People of North Carolina:

I shall not be a candidate in 1948. Physicians advise that I may recover fully from my recent illness and be able to perform the duties of a Senator through the remainder of my present term. This I hope to do. I would be unwilling to attempt more. It will be better to elect in 1948 to the Senate some one in the full vigor of the prime of life.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

GRATEFUL TO PEOPLE

In making this decision I have been moved to issue a statement which follows:

I shall always be grateful to the people of North Carolina for the great honor they gave me and the trust they reposed in me. It seemed to me from the outset that the least I could do by way of appreciation was to be honest with them. This I have done.

I could not support a considerable number of measures put forward by President Roosevelt because upon reading them it was plain to me that they were unsound and the long-run consequences would be bad for the people. I voted against the Wagner Act, for example. It was and is a plain piece of political class legislation. We now see its consequences. Purporting to avoid strikes, it is an inducement to strike. Proposing to free the workingmen, it has placed them under the power of labor bosses.

The question in America today is whether the country shall be run by the people or by the labor leaders not responsible to the people. This question must be settled and be settled right. No man should be elected to the Senate from North Carolina who does not ring clear on this issue.

PREDICTED REFORMING OF ACT

The act can be reformed and I think it will be. It would have been reformed long ago but for the power of the labor organizations in the Senate. The workingmen ought to be free. They ought to be free to join a union or not to join one. Employers ought also to be free. The labor unions can be made to do bargaining and prevented from dictating. They are now not bargaining, but dictating. Certain of the railroad unions went so far as to vote for a strike against this Government in the midst of the war. It was a plain and shameful threat to deliver the country over to our enemies unless the labor leaders should have their way. They would have deprived our fighting men of food and munitions on the fields of battle. Recently they and others have been inflicting untold injury upon the entire population. They were paralyzing the American economy. Their demands are demands upon every person. They should not have this power. Regardless of the merits of their demands they ought not have power to injure the people of this country. None may be trusted with such power.

NO REASON FOR CONFUSION

They are not putting forward any argument for these demands, but saying in plain language we must have our way or the American people must pay the price of suffering and ruin. There is no right

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

to do this or anything like it. Any individual has a right not to work at any given task, but no group of people has a right to injure and punish others in order to dictate terms to their employer. Woodrow Wilson was clear enough on this subject in 1916, and there is no reason for confusion. There is no moral right for a group of men to strike and hold up the people of this country, preventing others from working and inflicting untold injury upon millions.

A government that will not put an end to this sort of thing is not worthy to be called a government. The fact is that the American people have never failed to respond appropriately to such a challenge; whenever any group has assumed power to subordinate the general welfare to its special interest, people, President, and Congress have taught it the necessary lesson; and so long as this shall be their way this Republic is secure as a government of and for the people. This is precisely what has just happened, and it is most heartening.

LOSE GOOD WILL THROUGH LEADERS

The workingmen ought to bear in mind that they always have the sympathetic good will of their fellow men, and that they lose it only when they permit unwise leaders to put them in the position of ignoring the public interest.

We can apply our antitrust laws to monopolistic practices in labor relations just as we can apply them to any other relations affecting commerce among the States—and we should do it. We ought to restore the remedy of injunction to prevent irreparable injury. The labor leaders have repudiated collective bargaining and undertaken to substitute dictatorial demand for it.

Labor has no more right to interfere with commerce than anyone else, and it is the duty of the Congress to protect commerce and to preserve its freedom. Only the Congress may regulate interstate and foreign commerce. It has plenary power to do so. Employers have a right to present their case to their employees and they also have a right to select their employees. Granted a man has a personal right to strike, he has no right to a job he has left. As matters now stand a man has to belong to a union and obey its boss in order to get a job. There can be no right to prevent others from working. This is not freedom, it is coercion. Nor do men have right to join in a mutual movement to stop production and thereby paralyze commerce.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

UNIONS MUST BE HELD LIABLE

If collective bargaining shall be preserved, the labor unions must be required to perform their contracts or be held liable in damages. Controversies ought to be settled in our courts of justice, and not by boards, commissioners, or panels.

The CIO and the PAC are now invading the Southern States and in particular they are invading the Democratic primaries. They have captured the Democratic Party in the North and propose to capture it in the South. The CIO and PAC are political parties and they are united in the American Labor Party—confessedly a radical class party.

The American people will be well advised to realize that the professional Communist proceeds by way of deceit. He will profess to be a Democrat in order to carry his point. He intends that the American Labor Party shall take our party over. The people of North Carolina will do well to suspect any candidate who is supported by the CIO or PAC, whether in the primary or the general election. They have drawn the issue and we must meet it. It is an issue we must meet squarely and in the open, and any man who runs for office without frankly stating his position ought to be voted against. Amongst other things they propose to overthrow white supremacy in the South, and vote great masses of the ignorant for their foul purposes.

GRAVE PARTY DANGER SEEN

If this movement by the CIO-PAC shall succeed there is grave danger that the Democratic Party will go the way of the Liberal Party in England; that is, be absorbed by the Labor Party.

I have been greatly disturbed by the international situation. So far Russia has made a policy of dissent and obstruction. There are those who think that Russia does not intend to destroy the United Nations organization. It is my opinion that Russia does not intend to go along with it unless Russia can have her way. She means to dominate Europe and Asia, and then the whole world. There is evidence that Russia is operating in this country now by way of propaganda and infiltration. Her partisans are everywhere professing on some occasions to be Republicans, and professing on others of being Democrats, but being at heart Communists loyal to Russia and not to the United States. This issue is drawn in this country and in the world.

If the United Nations organization fails, this does not necessarily mean war. It does mean that it will be necessary for us to get along in a world not fully organized for peace, which will be most

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

difficult. We must avoid war, engaging therein only when the independence of this country and the security of our people are plainly at stake. Isolation is obsolete. But internationalism does not predicate that our country must have a hand in every controversy or that we should assume responsibility everywhere. Let us press in all events for a world organization to preserve peace throughout the earth.

NEED MIGHTY ARMY AND NAVY

This country can get along in the existing circumstances only by way of being armed to the teeth. We must have a mighty Army and a mighty Navy and a mighty Air Force, and a mighty industrial and agricultural capacity, and everything in armaments that will give us superiority. The way to peace for America in such a world is by way of being so strong that we will be able to beat down into the dust or ruin any nation that attacks us—just as we beat Japan down and Germany down. They will not attack us again. They attacked us because they thought we were weak. If they had known we were strong they would not have dared lift a hand against us. If they had known 5 years ago what they know now there would have been no world war, and we would have been delivered from the ordeal through which we passed in great tribulation. We must not run the risk of being attacked again. We must avoid war and establish our peace. And in order that we may, we must be so strong that every nation will know that we have the power to crush and to destroy any who rise against us. This is hard doctrine, but it is necessary. We may hope for a time when the nations disarm in the interest of peace, but we must not be the first to disarm. We must not disarm until we know that every other nation is disarming. This is why I am for the selective service and compulsory military training. I am for the peace and security of our country.

SHOULD ACT IN SELF-INTEREST

I do not think we should tie ourselves up with the destiny of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. We should be as friendly as possible with every nation, but should act only in our own self-interest. I voted for the lend-lease bill in order to get time in which to prepare this country for the war which was surely coming. Mr. Roosevelt felt that he could head off the war.

I followed Mr. Roosevelt in his measures of foreign policy prior to and throughout the war. This was because I was persuaded that he was doing everything to keep this country out of the war, and

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

once in he was doing all possible to win. He was mistaken because he did not give Japan credit for the ignorance under which that country was laboring.

There is no reason why we should attach our fate to the United Kingdom of Great Britain. We cannot fight her battles, nor can we afford to make her foreign policy ours. We must have our own foreign policy—the policy of being strong, firm, and peaceful, and of getting into no controversy except in clear defense of our own country.

DIRECT LOANS NOT WISE POLICY

I am not opposed to the loans to foreign nations, except through the International Bank authorized by the Bretton Woods agreement. I was paired against the loan to Great Britain. I shall not support a direct loan for Russia nor for France nor for any other country. It is not wise policy. I question whether we have the right in time of peace to tax the American people for the sake of the economy of any other nation. Other nations will depend upon us and call upon us again and again as long as they find we can be persuaded to borrow money and send it to them. We owe too much now. We have enough here at home to take care of our own people and their security without undertaking to fight either the domestic or foreign battles of other nations. Our true course is to play the role of umpire in the United Nations organization in matters of no import to us, undertaking to see that justice is done and that the American security is protected. We cannot be a disinterested umpire in all cases. We must resolve every doubt in favor of the security of our country. I do not think we should be involved in the small quarrels of the little nations of Europe and other portions of the earth. Their interests and ideas are entirely different from ours. We should protect the Western Hemisphere and we will have our hands full doing that. It is no concern of ours what sort of government Spain may have, or whether Russia is communistic or not, or whether France is communistic or not. Let them have such a government as they please. Let us preserve the American Republic as received from our fathers and proved by experience.

WAS FOLLOWER OF WILSON

When I took the oath of Senator I was resolved to preserve this Republic in the true character in which it had served our people so well for 150 years. I was more a follower of Woodrow Wilson than of any other person. It seemed to me he understood the character of our Government and was determined to preserve it. I read all of his works in the interim between my nomination and

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

the time I took my oath as Senator. I do not regret the fight I made, but I do not think it was won. I did my best. We will never know what was averted. I do not think the fight has been lost, although I realize our Republic has been changed to a great degree and very much to its injury. Much may be retrieved that now seems lost.

Let me conclude with one remark: Before the war our country had run a deficit of about \$3,000,000,000 every year since 1862. No country has ever spent the earnings and the substance of its people as this country has without ruining itself and its inhabitants. The war expenditures were necessary, but there is absolutely no excuse for the extravagant civilian expenditure during the period in which I have been Senator. We must have an end of it and without further delay. We must stabilize our currency and our economy at the earliest moment possible if we are to avoid disaster and chaos. No man should be elected to the House or Senate until he has pledged that he will reduce expenditures and balance our budget and keep it balanced. An eminent historian prophesied early in the nineteenth century that our Republic would be plundered in the twentieth century not by a foreign invader but by its own people. That plundering is now and has been for several years going on.

It seems to me to be appropriate that at this time I should lay this statement before our people. These are my views, honestly expressed, and I express them in part discharge of the great debt I owe the people of our State.

JOSIAH W. BAILEY.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address by Senator Tydings *of Maryland*

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, North Carolina may well be proud of the record made by one of her great sons, Senator JOSIAH BAILEY, in the Senate of the United States. During his 16 years of service in this great body, he was outstanding for his high character, courage, devotion to duty, and intellectual capacity.

He left his mark upon much of the legislation that came before the Congress during his service here. In fact, as much as any of his colleagues, he influenced many of the major decisions made in the Congress in both peace and war.

Reason and logic were normal products of his fertile mind and a profound wisdom attended all his utterances.

When he rose to speak in this body, he always drew a large and attentive audience. He had that rare eloquence that indelibly impresses with its transparent earnestness and sincerity. When he engaged in debate he covered the subject under discussion with a unique and mature thoroughness. Calm and deliberate in mien, he was nevertheless a most powerful and convincing speaker. His long service as an editor and writer fashioned the words and phrases which he used with such facility and force to convey the thoughts he wished to express. His marshalling of the facts in the case was always masterful. In a word, he was easily one of the great speakers of his day and generation.

In his utterances, in his votes upon public questions, in his philosophy and in his daily actions, there was clearly visible his unswerving devotion to his native State of North Carolina and to its citizens. He had a deep and abiding love for his country and a great faith in its past, present, and future. He was reverent and humble and loyal to his God.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

Because he labored so diligently, long, and well here, his State and the Nation, and indeed, the world, are the richer.

As a friend, I mourn his untimely passing, both for his friendship and his statesmanship. For a man of such talents and ability, life is all too short.

Always a strong defender of truth and justice, Senator JOSIAH BAILEY was great in those rare qualities of mind and heart which give to a very few men deserved eminence when they occupy high places.

His resolves were the result of deep thought and, once reached, these resolves were rugged. His remarks supporting such resolution were always persuasive and convincing, and his reasoning cogent and generally unanswerable.

All who knew him are finer and better for that acquaintance—this Nation, his State, his constituents, his friends, and his family. In his last days, I am sure all of us realized that his work was such that it will be evidenced in the Nation's progress for many years to come.

The people of North Carolina, from whose ranks have come an unusually large number of illustrious and outstanding public servants, may take great pride in Senator BAILEY's career, for he has further enriched this priceless heritage in the service to his State and to his country.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address by Senator Umstead

Of North Carolina

Mr. UMSTEAD. Mr. President, the death of Hon. JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY on December 15, 1946, removed one of the ablest and most versatile men ever to represent the State of North Carolina in this Chamber. At the time of his death Senator BAILEY had completed 15 years of service characterized by ability, integrity, courage, foresight and statesmanship. His excellent record will find its place in history along with that of the illustrious men who have represented North Carolina in the United States Senate since the foundation of the Government.

Senator BAILEY was born at Warrenton, N. C., on September 14, 1873. He was the son of Christopher Thomas Bailey and Annie Sarah Bailey. Both his father and his grandfather were Baptist ministers and through them he inherited strong religious traditions. His intellectual ability was noticeable at an early age and his family lost no opportunity of training and developing his mind and stimulating an interest in religious activities and Bible study. As a result he possessed an alertness of mind and firm moral convictions throughout his entire life. In 1893 he was awarded the degree of bachelor of arts at Wake Forest College, a Baptist school which has long been one of the outstanding educational institutions of our State. In the same year that he graduated, Senator BAILEY became editor of the Biblical Recorder, the official organ of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina, and continued in this position for 14 years. His extreme youth rendered conspicuous his editorship of a paper of such wide circulation and potent influence, but he met the responsibilities of this important position with a brilliance that characterized all that he did.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

While still editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, he studied law under S. F. Mordecai, the famed North Carolina professor of law at Trinity College, now Duke University. In 1907 he resigned his editorship and studied law at Wake Forest. In 1908 he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law at Raleigh, N. C. Though he was at that time 34 years of age he was unusually successful from the beginning. In addition to having a brilliant mind he was a diligent and thorough student and an advocate of unusual forcefulness. It is consequently no occasion for surprise that in a few years he commanded one of the best practices in the State and he remained devoted to the law and to supremacy of the law as long as he lived. The great speech that he made in this Chamber upon the reorganization of the Supreme Court of the United States eloquently attests that fact.

Being always concerned about whatever affected the public welfare, it was natural that Senator BAILEY should become interested in politics, as he did. He often played a leading part in matters of local political concern and never hesitated to stand and fight openly for whatever he believed to be right and best. He took an active part in every general election and always presented in a masterful manner the issues of the day.

He served as presidential elector-at-large in 1908. From 1913 to 1921 he held the position of collector of internal revenue for North Carolina. In 1928 there was bitter opposition to the Democratic nominee for President, but Mr. BAILEY stood uncompromisingly for the ticket from bottom to top though in doing so he had to part company with many long and close political associates. Much prominence came to him as a result. Two years later his offer of assistance to several likely senatorial candidates being declined, he announced his own candidacy. His vigorous campaign won immediate response from the people of the State. In the Democratic primary he swept the State and in the following

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

general election won by the largest vote ever received by a senatorial candidate in North Carolina up to that time.

He qualified as a United States Senator in 1931 and accepted the high responsibilities of this office with the same serious and sober purpose that was characteristic of his entire life. But it rested securely upon his resolute shoulders. He was not easily swayed from the path of public duty. An ardent believer in State's rights and private industry, he was often an outspoken critic of the Roosevelt administration and just as bold a champion of its policies when he believed them to be right. Despite the fact that he was often with a small minority, he never faltered in voting as he believed to be best for the general welfare and the future of the Nation. He quickly established, and maintained to the end, a reputation in the Senate for absolute devotion to the fundamental principles upon which our Government is founded.

He once wrote:

When I was a young fellow and all the way of life was unknown to me, my teachers urged me to have the courage of my convictions. My Sunday school teacher would tell me to "Dare to be a Daniel."

He never forgot his early teachings and he never hesitated to be a Daniel when circumstances necessitated. Questioned once by a friend on the wisdom of his conservative views, Senator BAILEY answered:

History * * * teaches me that second thoughts are more to be trusted than first thoughts; that reason is better than impulse; that the long view is better than the view of apparent immediate self-interests; that the best friends of the people are not those who appeal either to their prejudices or emotions, nor who agree with them just to please, nor those who make the loudest professions of interest in them; that one who would serve them must study measures and seek the right; that men engaged in the tasks of life have but little time for study or meditation, and that if someone does not study for them they will learn only at the cost of bitter experience; and that one honest man who will tell them the truth is worth ten thousand who are content with them rather than take their criticisms or their curses. And history also tells me that in the long run only the men who are willing to pay this

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

price receive the rewards of a grateful posterity, or the satisfaction of duty done.

Senator BAILEY was broad-minded. He always had firm personal convictions, but was always glad to consider the views of those who differed, and never hesitated to change if upon consideration he was convinced that his own position was wrong. This very thing happened in a conspicuous manner when the Senate was considering the lend-lease bill. Speaking to a hushed Chamber during this debate he said simply:

I have utterly changed my mind * * * I am advocating intervention with all its implications. I am not hedging. All my life I have looked a thing in the face and argued it as it is.

This was typical of the courage of this dignified and earnest North Carolinian. From this day on he worked diligently in shaping all legislation necessary in the successful prosecution of World War II.

An eloquent speaker with a resonant voice and emphatic manner, Senator BAILEY frequently used Biblical and historical quotations to emphasize points in his powerful oratory on the Senate floor. As chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, he exhibited great skill in the handling of all types of legislation. The progress of civil aviation greatly interested him, and in 1944 he attended the International Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago to assist in the worldwide planning for postwar civil aviation.

Senator BAILEY's primary interest was the preservation and protection of our constitutional form of government, and he studied carefully all pending legislation to make certain that the measures did not violate the basic principles set forth by our forefathers. He considered efforts to reorganize the United States Supreme Court a direct threat to our constitutional form of government, and he believed that his unceasing work to defeat the measure was one of his major achievements during 15 years of service in the Senate. Examination of his speech on this question is worth the time of

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

anyone. A member of the Senate Finance Committee for many years, he was vitally interested in all tax legislation and became a champion of fair and equitable taxes. While he represented a Southern State, it is a matter of record that he never sought favor for any section of the country or group of people at the expense of any other part of the Nation or any other group of people. Representative government within the framework of our Constitution was always the focal point of his political philosophy.

Senator BAILEY's intellectual ability, his moral courage, and his analytical and logical mind stamped him as one of the outstanding Members of the United States Senate. He bowed to no group and served no interest except what he believed to be the best interest of all the people of the United States. He would have been a great Senator in any Congress in the history of our Nation. His entire service was a demonstration of profound statesmanship.

In 1916 Senator BAILEY was fortunate in winning the hand of Edith Walker Pou, a beautiful woman and distinguished in her own right. This union was blessed by three daughters and two sons—Annie Elizabeth, Edith Pou, and Sallie Bailey, and James H. Pou Bailey and Josiah W. Bailey, Jr. It is superfluous to add that Senator BAILEY was proud and happy in this family and was ever a devoted husband and father.

There have been few men who loved nature and the outdoor world better than Senator BAILEY. In his youth he roamed the fields and woods of North Carolina and fished in its streams and the sea. He delighted in each season of the year, and his wide knowledge of the wonders of nature often surprised even his close friends. In *The Song of the Cardinal*, an article he wrote on nature, he mentioned 23 birds and 45 trees, shrubs, and flowers. He expressed in this article his great understanding of wildlife and the great outdoors of

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

North Carolina. Speaking of the coming of summer he said:

The catbird comes with gentle song and at last the scarlet tanager with summer in his throat. The fields are sweet with clover blooms. The blackberry is out in white. The wild locust is festooned here in pure white and yonder in mauve. Honeysuckle on every roadside breathes forth sweetness and delight. The tall poplars lift aloft their golden-nectared cups. The trees are once again in full leaf. And now the roses, gorgeous and in infinite variety—and fairness of them the wild rose, sweet and fragile, an idyl in bloom.

His work is done. His day is ended. Sustained by a deep faith, he lived and died—unafraid. God grant that his soul has found rest in a celestial spring of eternity.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

FRIDAY, January 3, 1947.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. WILLIAM J. GALLAGHER, late a Representative from the State of Minnesota, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. WILLIAM B. BARRY, late a Representative from the State of New York, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

The message further communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. ROBERT K. HENRY, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin, and transmitted the resolution of the House thereon.

The message also communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. CHARLES O. ANDREWS, late a Senator from the State of Florida.

The message further communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina.

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, it becomes my painful duty to advise the Senate of the death of my distinguished colleague the senior Senator from North Carolina, JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, which occurred at his home in Raleigh, N. C., on Sunday morning, December 15, 1946. Senator BAILEY had been ill for several months, but his health had greatly improved in recent weeks and he was preparing to resume his duties in the Senate upon the assembling of the Eightieth

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Congress. The summons came suddenly, but found him ready. He was 73 years of age.

For 16 years Senator BAILEY represented North Carolina in this body, and served the people of his State and the Nation with singular devotion to the public interest and with credit and distinction to himself. There was never any question as to where he stood upon any public matter. He never dodged and he never ducked. No matter how hot the issue or how controversial the cause, he met it squarely and faced it unafraid. The record of his service here sustains the best traditions of the Senate and adds lustre to the annals of this historic Chamber.

Senator BAILEY possessed many attributes of greatness. He was able, resourceful, versatile, courageous, and loyal.

In his young manhood he achieved great distinction as editor of the Biblical Reporter, the organ of the Baptist denomination in North Carolina; later he became a brilliant lawyer and established a lucrative practice. In a public capacity he served as United States Collector of Internal Revenue for the Eastern District of North Carolina and became an outstanding political leader. For nearly a half century he was the masterful advocate of many humanitarian, educational, political, and religious causes and was an orator of superior gifts and graces and a speaker of rare force and effectiveness. He was elected to the Senate in 1931, and through the intervening years was an active participant in the Senate debates, and exerted wide influence in shaping legislation, having served for several years as chairman of the important Commerce Committee, and rendered effective service on various other Senate committees. He was a resourceful leader in many Senate fights, and made many memorable addresses upon vitally important matters pending in the Senate. His masterful argument against the measure to reorganize the Supreme Court was accounted one of the great addresses made in this body during this century.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

Senator BAILEY was loyal to the very core of his being. Loyal to his friends, loyal to his family, loyal to his church, loyal to his State and country, and loyal to his God. And he believed in a great God. He would not worship at the shrine of a small deity—he would bow before no little god. His God was omnipotent, having all power, omniscient, knowing all things, and omnipresent, being everywhere, and able to bless and save to the uttermost.

Having known Senator BAILEY it is easier to read with understanding and faith the majestic first chapter of Genesis as it unfolds in stately passages the successive stages of creation, culminating in the making of man in the image of God, and stamping him with His own divine personality and giving him dominion over all created things.

Thomas Carlyle in writing of Robert Burns gave this standard by which a man might be appraised: "What the man did to the world and what the world did to the man." Senator BAILEY gave to the world an example of exalted living, of unselfish public service, of courage and daring, of faith and vision. The world responded by honoring him with high public position, according him universal respect and esteem, and crowning him with the plaudits of his beloved fellow citizens of the commonwealth he served so well. The world could not break his spirit nor shatter his faith.

When General Lafayette visited Washington after we had won the War of the Revolution, Chief Pushmatahaw, a famous Indian warrior, and the man described by Gen. Andrew Jackson as "the greatest and bravest Indian I ever knew," journeyed from his far-western nation to Washington to visit General Lafayette, and while in this Capital City, fell desperately ill. This beloved Indian chief, realizing his serious condition and that his death was imminent, called to his bedside his tribesmen and said to them: "When you return to our nation the braves will ask you, Where is Chief Pushmatahaw? and you will say, 'He is no more.' And the news

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

of his passing will be as the noise of the falling of a mighty oak in the stillness of the forest."

On April 9, 1946, in his office in this Capitol, Senator BAILEY was stricken, but after weeks of illness he recovered sufficiently to return to his beloved North Carolina, and under her inviting skies he had greatly improved and had completed all of his plans to return to Washington and to the Senate for the opening session of this Congress, but on December 14, 1946, he suffered another attack and he died on the following day. The news of his passing was as the noise of the falling of a mighty oak in the stillness of the forest in the great Commonwealth of North Carolina, that gave him birth and nourished, honored, and loved him until the end. The whole State mourns his death.

In the power of immortal verse Wordsworth fittingly describes Senator BAILEY in these lines from the Happy Warrior:

'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence, in a state where men are tempted still
To evil for a guard against worse ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest.
He labors good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:

Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire:

Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honors, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow; on whose head must fall,
Like showers of manna, if they come at all:

Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
A constant influence, a peculiar grace;

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad, for humankind,
Is happy as a lover; and attired
With sudden brightness like a man inspired;
And, through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need:
He who, though thus endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes;
Sweet images! which, wheresoe'er he be,
Are at his heart; and such fidelity
It is his darling passion to approve;
More brave for this, that he hath much to love:

* * * * *

Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
Forever, and to noble deeds give birth,
Or he must fall, to sleep without his fame,
And leave a dead, unprofitable name,
Finds comfort in himself and in his cause;
And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
This is the happy warrior; this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

Our beloved and departed colleague so lived that he could with Byron tell "Death, that omnipotent tyrant, to his everlasting face, that he possesses no sting, and challenge his sleepless handmaiden the grave, to dare proclaim a victory."

Mr. Secretary, I send forward a resolution, and ask for its adoption.

The SECRETARY. The clerk will read.

The resolution (S. Res. 3) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

MONDAY, January 20, 1947.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record resolutions unanimously adopted by the conference of the minority as tributes to the memories of Hon. CHARLES O. ANDREWS, late a Senator from the State of Florida; Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina; Hon. JOHN H. BANKHEAD 2d., late a Senator from the State of Alabama; and Hon. CARTER GLASS, late a Senator from the State of Virginia.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record.

JOSIAH W. BAILEY

Whereas Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our colleague, the Honorable JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina; and

Whereas throughout his long career in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service; and

Whereas as our trusted friend and close associate, he was ever ready to lend his judgment and his efforts in behalf of the Democratic Party: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, his Democratic colleagues in the United States Senate, express our deep sense of loss at his passing; and

Further, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased, that they may be assured of our deep respect for the late Senator and of our condolences upon the passing of our friend.

Adopted by the conference of the minority this 2d day of January 1947.

BRIEN McMAHON,
Secretary.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY

TUESDAY, April 29, 1947.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "The Testament of a Great Public Servant," from the Southern Agriculturist, a publication founded in 1869. The editorial pays a tribute to our late colleague, JOSIAH W. BAILEY, of the State of North Carolina.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

THE TESTAMENT OF A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

In a political last will and testament, the late JOSIAH W. BAILEY, who served with great distinction as a United States Senator from North Carolina from 1931 until his death in Raleigh on December 15, 1946, cited three major dangers as threatening the freedom and security of the United States. They were (1) the growing dominating influence of the Soviet Union, (2) a reckless fiscal policy, and (3) our ruthless labor leaders.

Regarding Russia, Senator BAILEY, a devout Baptist who edited the Biblical Record from 1893 to 1907, warned the United States to be on the alert against possible world domination on the part of that government. He said, "There are those who think that Russia does not intend to destroy the United Nations Organization. It is my opinion that Russia does not intend to go along with it unless Russia can have her way. She means to dominate Europe and Asia and then the whole world."

The Senator asserted that there was evidence that the Soviet Union was operating in the United States by propaganda and infiltration. He cautioned, however, that failure of the United Nations did not necessarily mean war, and that internationalism did not mean that "our country must have a hand in every controversy, or that we should assume responsibility everywhere."

Senator BAILEY called for a strong, firm, and peaceful foreign policy on our part and our getting into no controversy except in clear defense of our own country.

Senator BAILEY who served as United States collector of internal revenue in North Carolina, from 1913 to 1921, deplored extravagant national spending policies, saying:

"No country has ever spent the earnings and the substance of its people as this country has without ruining itself and its inhabitants. The war expenditures were necessary, but there is absolutely no

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

excuse for the extravagant civilian expenditure during the period in which I have been Senator.

"We must stabilize our currency and our economy at the earliest moment possible if we are to avoid disaster and chaos."

In one portion of his philosophical document, Senator BAILEY charged that labor leaders had repudiated collective bargaining and undertaken to substitute dictatorial demands for it. He suggested that antitrust laws could be applied to monopolistic practices in labor relations just "as we can apply them to any relationship affecting commerce among the States."

Among his labor recommendations were restoration of the injunction to prevent irreparable injury, a requirement that unions perform their contracts or be held liable in damages if collective bargaining were to be preserved, and settlement of labor controversies in courts of justice and not by boards, commissioners, or panels.

"I could not support a considerable number of measures put forward by President Roosevelt because it was plain to me that they were unsound and the long-run consequence would be bad for the people. I voted against the Wagner Act. It was and is a plain piece of political class legislation. We now see its consequences. Purporting to avoid strikes, it is an inducement to strike. Proposing to free the workmen, it has placed them under the power of labor bosses."

Senator BAILEY advocated freedom for both employers and workers. He said that there can be no right to prevent a man from working just because he does not belong to a union. This is not freedom, it is coercion.

This warning comes from a patriotic American who was one of the most eloquent statesmen of his time with a reputation for clear-thinking. When he spoke, the Senate Chamber was filled. He was the champion of individual freedom. He was the defender of States' rights against the encroachments of Federal power. He consistently upheld the integrity of the courts. He was an advocate of sound monetary policy. And he believed in and fought for a strong agriculture in a balanced economy.

Realizing that the end was near, JOSIAH BAILEY bequeathed to the people of his beloved State and Nation the benefit of his experience and observations in a lifetime of patriotic public service.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

FRIDAY, January 3, 1947.

Mr. DOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 11), which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, a Senator of the United States from the State of North Carolina.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of our deceased Members, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 23 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, January 6, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, January 6, 1947.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution:

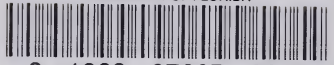
Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. JOSIAH W. BAILEY, late a Senator from the State of North Carolina.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian tomorrow.



UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 07207 8040

10/26/50

[Handwritten signature]

FLARE

FLARE



31262072078040